

Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 303607 TOSEC 250033

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TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS ITEMS, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1975 AND MONDAY,
DECEMBER 29, 1975

FOR BARBIAN FROM S/PRS

1. NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28: WEEK IN REVIEW
SECTION: "POWER BEGINS TO ELUDE MR. KISSINGER" BY
BERNARD GWERTZMAN. BEGIN TEXT:

"HENRY A. KISSINGER WAS ASKED RECENTLY WHETHER HE WOULD
RESIGN IF THERE WAS CONTINUED CONFRONTATION WITH CONGRESS
OVER ANGOLA. WITH A GRIN, HE REPLIED: 'I DO NOT WANT TO
GIVE THEM AN INCENTIVE FOR MORE CONFRONTATION.'

"IT WAS THE KIND OF JOKE MR. KISSINGER HAS BEEN MAKING OFTEN
NOW THAT HIS FUTURE HAS BECOME A SUBJECT OF INCREASING
SPECULATION. ONCE REGARDED AS A PERMANENT FIXTURE, MR.
KISSINGER, HIS PRESTIGE AND POPULARITY ON THE DECLINE IN
WASHINGTON, IS SEEN BY EVEN HIS CLOSEST AIDES AS A LAME
DUCK SECRETARY OF STATE.

"THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER MR. KISSINGER WILL LEAVE OFFICE
BUT WHEN. WILL HE LAST OUT 1976 OR QUIT SOONER? EVEN IF
PRESIDENT FORD IS RETURNED TO OFFICE, IT SEEMS EXTREMELY
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UNLIKELY THAT MR. KISSINGER WILL PROLONG HIS OWN TENURE. IT

WOULD ALSO BE POLITICALLY IMPROBABLE FOR RONALD REGAN,
IF HE WERE ELECTED, OR FOR A DEMOCRAT TO INVITE MR.

KISSINGER TO STAY.

"IN PITTSBURGH LAST MONTH, MR. KISSINGER WAS ASKED WHAT FURTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS HE EXPECTED OF HIMSELF. HE RESPONDED JOKINGLY: 'OF COURSE, I HAVE A LOT OF TIME SO I CAN PLAN AHEAD.' ASKED IF HE WOULD STAY IN OFFICE THROUGH 1976, HIS REPLY WAS A QUIP. ALLUDING TO THE TIMING OF MR. FORD'S DISMISSALS OF DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER AND CIA DIRECTOR WILLIAM COLBY, HE SAID, 'I DON'T ANSWER MY TELEPHONES ON SUNDAY.'

"THE JOKES HAVE ONLY MASKED MR. KISSINGER'S REAL CONCERN ABOUT WHETHER HE SHOULD REMAIN AS SECRETARY. NO ONE IS MORE AWARE THAN MR. KISSINGER OF HIS FALL FROM INFLUENCE IN WASHINGTON. ON CAPITOL HILL HE IS WIDELY DISTRUSTED AFTER ONCE BEING REGARDED WITH REVERENCE. HE IS SEEN BY CONSERVATIVES AS SOFT ON THE RUSSIANS, READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO COMPLETE ANOTHER SALT AGREEMENT. SOME LIBERALS SEE HIM AS A COLD WARRIOR READY TO PLUNGE THE U.S. INTO ANOTHER VIETNAM TO COUNTERACT SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

"MR. KISSINGER'S PRESTIGE PROBABLY HIT AN ALL-TIME HIGH IN JUNE, 1974, WHEN HE NEGOTIATED A SYRIAN-ISRAELI ACCORD. HE WAS FEATURED ON A NEWSWEEK COVER AS 'SUPER-K.' BUT SOON AFTER PRESIDENT NIXON WAS FORCED TO RESIGN, IN AUGUST OF THAT YEAR, MR. KISSINGER'S DECLINE BEGAN.

"HE WAS DEFEATED IN SEVERAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTES ON MILITARY AID TO TURKEY. SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL CRITICIZED HIM FOR PUTTING UNDUE PRESSURE ON THE JEWISH STATE. EVEN THE DISPATCH OF 200 AMERICAN TECHNICIANS TO THE SINAI, TO IMPLEMENT THE MIDDLE EAST TRUCE, TOOK MORE THAN A MONTH TO GET THROUGH CONGRESS ALTHOUGH IT SHOULD HAVE CLEARED EASILY. A KISSINGER ENDORSEMENT NO LONGER ENSURED A SMOOTH RECEPTION ON THE HILL FOR FOREIGN POLICY LEGISLATION.

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"BEYOND SPECIFIC DISAGREEMENTS OVER ISSUES LIKE ANGOLA, MANY IN CONGRESS HAVE COME TO FEEL THAT MR. KISSINGER IS POLITICALLY VULNERABLE AND HAVE BEGUN ATTACKING HIM. THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PIKE COMMITTEE, WHICH IS INVESTIGATING INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, EVEN TO CONTEMPLATE VOTING TO HOLD MR. KISSINGER IN CONTEMPT IS ONE ILLUSTRATION.

"IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHETHER THE CRITICISM IN WASHINGTON HAS AFFECTED HIS STANDING ABROAD. THE RUSSIANS

MUST WONDER WHETHER, IF THEY AGREE TO A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS ACCORD, MR. KISSINGER AND MR. FORD WILL BE ABLE TO GET IT THROUGH THE SENATE. ISRAELI LEADERS ALREADY ARE RAISING

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE VALUE OF ANY AMERICAN SECURITY GUARANTEE GIVEN THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPARENT INABILITY TO DEFEAT ISOLATIONISTS IN CONGRESS.

"MR. FORD HAS BEEN THE STRONGEST KISSINGER BOOSTER IN WASHINGTON. BUT EVEN HE SEEMED TO YIELD TO THE ANTI-KISSINGER SENTIMENT AROUND HIM WHEN HE TOOK AWAY MR. KISSINGER'S WHITE HOUSE JOB AS NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DIRECTOR LAST MONTH. MANY OF MR. FORD'S AIDES MAKE NO SECRET OF THEIR LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR MR. KISSINGER. SOME, SUCH AS RON NESSEN, ARE OPENLY HOSTILE.

"RECENTLY, MR. KISSINGER ASKED A NUMBER OF HIS FRIENDS AND ADVISERS WHETHER HE SHOULD REMAIN FOR THE BALANCE OF MR. FORD'S TERM. HE RECEIVED CONTRADICTORY ADVICE.

"ONE OF HIS ADVISERS URGED MR. KISSINGER TO QUIT NOW ON THE GROUND THAT MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WERE VOTING AGAINST CERTAIN POLICIES MAINLY BECAUSE THEY DISLIKED THE SECRETARY OF STATE. ANOTHER ADVISER, HOWEVER, ARGUED THAT MR. KISSINGER'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH MIDDLE EASTERN, SOVIET AND CHINESE LEADERS MADE IT IMPERATIVE FOR HIM TO REMAIN UNTIL 1977, THE START OF A NEW PRESIDENTIAL TERM, TO ASSURE AN ORDERLY CHANGE OF COMMAND AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

"THE TIMING OF MR. KISSINGER'S DEPARTURE WILL PROBABLY UNCLASSIFIED

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DEPEND UPON THE PROGRESS OF THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS AND OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS TALKS. IF IT SEEMS THAT BREAKTHROUGHS CAN BE ACHIEVED, HE WILL PROBABLY STAY ON. BUT IF IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL THAT, IN AN ELECTION YEAR, ANYTHING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED, MR. KISSINGER WOULD BE MORE LIKELY THAN NOT TO LEAVE OFFICE SOON AND BEGIN WRITING HIS MEMOIRS." END TEXT.

2. WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, OUTLOOK SECTION: FOLLOWING PIECE BY SENATOR JACKSON RAN UNDER EXCERPTS FROM DECEMBER 9 PRESS CONFERENCE ON SALT VIOLATIONS, UNDER GENERAL HEADING "THE SALT DEBATE": BEGIN TEXT:

"JACKSON: 'A FULLY INFORMED PRESIDENT COULD NO HAVE SAID, WITHOUT QUALIFICATION, AS DID PRESIDENT FORD ON JUNE 25, THAT THE SOVIE UNION HAS 'NOT VIOLATED THE SALT AGREEMENT, NOT USED ANY LOOPHOLES."

"EVEN AS DR. KISSINGER SPOKE, THE SOVIETS WERE CONTINUING

TO DEPLOY NUMBERS OF A NEW MISSILE, THE SS-19. AND THEY WERE DOING SO DESPITE THE FACT THAT DR. KISSINGER HAD ASSURED THE CONGRESS IN 1972 THAT SUCH A DEPLOYMENT WOULD

BE REGARDED AS A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENTS. IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT DID LITTLE TO DIMINISH THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE QUESTION OF SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENTS.

"IN THE ORDINARY COURSE OF EVENTS THE AMERICAN PUBLIC COULD RELY ON THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARING PROCESS TO RESOLVE SUCH A QUESTION. BUT DESPITE HIS REMARKABLE CLAIM TO HAVE BEEN DENIED AN 'OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THE TRUTH,' DR. KISSINGER HAS REFUSED, FOR MORE THAN EIGHT MONTHS, TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SENATE ARMS CONTROL SUBCOMMITTEE TO TESTIFY ON THE CONCERNS ABOUT SALT COMPLIANCE THAT AROSE WITH TESTIMONY IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH FROM SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND CIA DIRECTOR COLBY.

"THE CONCERNS IN QUESTION HAVE TO DO WITH SOVIET ACTIVITY SINCE THE SALT I AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED AND THE NATURE UNCLASSIFIED

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OF THE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THAT ACTIVITY. WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAVE 'VIOLATED' PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENTS IS A PART, BUT ONLY A PART, OF THE LARGER QUESTION OF WHETHER THE PURPOSE AND INTENT OF THOSE AGREEMENTS HAS BEEN CIRCUMVENTED; AND ON THIS ISSUE THE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE LEADS TO TWO UNHAPPY CONCLUSIONS: THE SOVIETS HAVE INDEED CIRCUMVENTED THE INTENT OF THE AGREEMENTS; AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS ACQUIESCED IN THAT CIRCUMVENTION." END TEXT.

3. NYT OP-ED PAGE, "COLD WAR II" BY WILLIAM SAFIRE.

BEGIN TEXT:

WASHINGTON -- AS 1975 DRAWS TO AN END, DETENTE IS DEAD. THE SECOND COLD WAR IS UNDER WAY.

EVERY PARTISAN OF PEACE WISHES OTHERWISE -- THAT THE SPIRIT OF SUPER-POWER COOPERATION COULD BE REVIVED QUICKLY -- BUT IT IS DANGEROUS TO ACT AS IF OUR WISHES WERE REALITY. THE MOMENT IN HISTORY -- IN WHICH ONE SET OF LEADERS MIGHT HAVE TURNED THE WORLD PERMANENTLY FROM WAR -- HAS SLIPPED AWAY. IT SERVES NO PURPOSE TO PRETEND THAT THE MOMENT IS STILL WITH US; ON THE CONTRARY, WE MUST ADOPT A NEW POLICY THAT WILL MAKE SUCH A MOMENT POSSIBLE SOON AGAIN.

WHAT EVIDENCE DO WE HAVE THAT COLD WAR II HAS BEGUN?

AFTER SOLIDIFYING WORLD WAR II GAINS AT HELSINKI, THE SOVIETS PROMPTLY RENEGED ON THEIR VAGUE PROMISES OF INCREASED HUMAN FREEDOM, AND INCREASED THEIR DEMANDS FOR IDEOLOGICAL DISCIPLINE AMONG COMMUNISTS EVERYWHERE. THEY PRESSED FOR A TAKEOVER OF A NATO COUNTRY, PORTUGAL;

WHEN THAT FAILED, THE SOVIETS HIRED THIS CENTURY'S
HESSIANS -- COMMUNIST CUBANS -- TO HELP THE U.S.S.R.
REPLACE PORTUGAL AS THE COLONIAL POWER IN ANGOLA.

AS TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION, SUPPOSEDLY THE MAIN
COURSE OF THE LOVE FEAST, THE SOVIETS HAVE VIOLATED OUR
UNDERSTANDINGS OF THEIR LIMITATIONS, CORRODING THE TRUST
THAT MIGHT HAVE MADE PROGRESS POSSIBLE.

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WHO CAUSED THE DEATH OF DETENTE?

OUR SENATORIAL PROTESTATIONS OF WEAKNESS IN 1973, FOLLOWED
BY THE COLLAPSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, HELPED SPEED DETENTE'S
DEMISE. THE HUBRIS OF AMERICAN DOVES COMMINGLED WITH THE
SUSPICIOUSNESS OF AMERICAN HAWKS TO MAKE IT POLITICALLY
UNWISE TO TAKE MORE RISKS FOR PEACE; WE AD NO LEADERS
CAPABLE OF OVERCOMING BOTH THE WEARINESS OF THE LEFT
AND THE WARINESS OF THE RIGHT.

BUT THE VICTIM CANNOT BE MADE THE VILLAIN. DETENTE
WAS KILLED BY THE SOVIET INABILITY TO REFRAIN FROM
EXPLOITING OUR WEAKNESS. IN PRESSING THEIR STRENGTH, THE
SOVIET LEADERS REVEALED THAT DETENTE MEANT, TO THEM, A
COST-FREE METHOD OF 'NORMALIZING' THE WORLD INTO
RUSSIAN-DOMINATED COMMUNISM.

HOW WILL COLD WAR II BE DIFFERENT FROM COLD WAR I?

THE KIND OF EDGE-TEETERING CONFRONTATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE
IN BERLIN AND CUBA ARE NO LONGER TOLERABLE. ALTHOUGH
WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WILL BE SUPPORTED BY
EXPANSIONIST COMMUNISM, LESS BRINKSMANLIKE MANEUVERS CAN
BE EXPECTED. AS COLD WAR I WAS POLITICAL, CREATING A
NEUTRAL THIRD WORLD, SOVIET STRATEGY IN COLD WAR II WILL
BE ECONOMIC ABSORBING THE THIRD WORLD INTO AN ALLIANCE
AGAINST THE MAVERICK CHINESE AND THE DWINDLING
DEMOCRACIES.

WAS OUR INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET PROBE IN ANGOLA
GOOD COLD WAR II STRATEGY?

ABSOLUTELY NOT. OUR KNEE-JERK REACTION -- TO SUPPLY
ARMS TO THE LOCAL OPPOSITION TO THE SOVIET CLIENTS -- WAS
A COLD WAR I RESPONSE, OUT OF SYNC WITH TODAY'S DRUMMER.

HENRY KISSINGER NEVER REALLY UNDERSTOOD THE NIXON
DOCTRINE; INSTEAD OF RESPONDING IN NIXONIAN GLOBAL
TERMS (WHICH LED TO DETENTE), THE COLD WAR I WARRIOR
RESPONDED IN TRUMAN-KENNEDY LOCAL TERMS (WHICH LED
NOWHERE).

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SHOULD WE THEN IGNORE THE SOVIET-SPONSORED AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION IN COLD WAR II?

NO; APPEASEMENT RARELY APPEASES. BUT WE MUST NOT BE TRAPPED INTO RESPONDING AT THE TIME AND IN THE PLACE OUR OPPONENTS CHOOSE; WE MUST APPLY PRESSURE IN A WAY THAT GAINS THE INITIATIVE AND GETS RESULTS. THE STRATEGY THAT ENDED THE LAST COLD WAR AND BROUGHT ABOUT THE RECENT DETENTE WAS THIS: TO UP THE ANTE OF LOCAL CHALLENGE; TO LINK ARMS CONTROL ADVANCES TO ECONOMIC REWARD; TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH; AND THEN TO MAKE A DEAL AT THE SUMMIT FOR PARITY WITH A RESPECTFUL COMMUNIST WORLD.

BUT MR. KISSINGER IS NOT DOING THAT NOW; HE IS PUTTING OUT FIRES, OR TRYING TO, IN THE COLD WAR I WAY, WHICH WILL NEVER LEAD US TO A NEW DETENTE. HE CLINGS TO THE IDEA THAT THE OLD DETENTE -- ,HIS' DETENTE -- STILL EXISTS,AND NEEDS ONLY A LITTLE PATCHING UP.

WHAT WEAPONS DO WE HAVE TO FIGHT COLD WAR II THROUGH TO A NEW DETENTE?

OUR NEW WEAPON: BOTH THE OPPOSING SUPERPOWER AND THE THIRD WORLD ARE DESPERATE FOR ONE COMMODITY OUR SYSTEM PRODUCES IN ABUNDANCE -- FOOD. OUR OLD WEAPON: A TECHNOLOGY CAPABLE OF PROVING WE CANNOT BE OUTSTRIPPED IN THE ABILITY TO 'WIN' A NUCLEAR WAR. OUR FORGOTTEN WEAPON: THE YEARNING OF HUMAN BEINGS IN THE STRANGEST PLACES FOR FREEDOM, WHICH DEMOCRACY PERMITS AND COMMUNISM PREVENTS.

WOULDN'T IT BE EASIER TO PATCH UP THE OLD DETENTE THAN TO GO THROUGH A SECOND COLD WAR?

CERTAINLY, IF THE CHOICE WERE OURS -- BUT IT IS NOT. WHAT CURRENTLY PASSES UNDER THE NAME OF DETENTE IS THE SOVIET'S OPENING OFFENSIVE IN COLD WAR II. IF WE RESPOND INTELLIGENTLY AND FIRMLY, WITH THE MOST UP-TO-DATE LINKAGE, WE CAN ESTABLISH A FRESH AND GENUINE DETENTE

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-- TO GIVE THE NEXT SET OF LEADERS THAT MOMENT OF POWER PARITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT NEEDED TO BEGIN AGAIN THE PROCESS OF PEACE. END TEXT.

ROBINSON

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